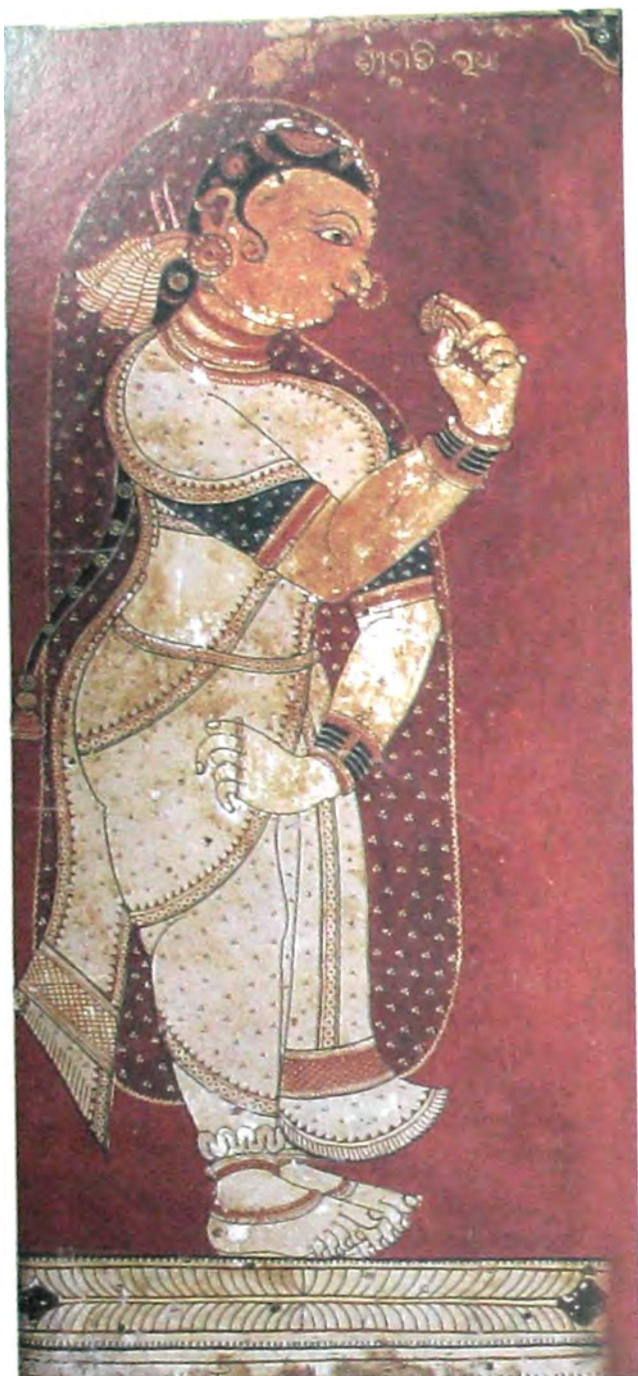
Prof. K.S.Behera Memorial Lecture 2009
Delivered by Dr. Dinanath Pathy on

Workshops and their Masters Chitrakara Painters and Lekhanakara Artists in Orissa





Digapahandi workshop, Srimati Radha,
painted on cloth layered wooden plaque,
early 20th century
Painted by: Patita Rupakararatna, Photo : Eberhard Fischer

Prof. K.S. Behera Memorial Lecture 2009

Workshops and their Masters Chitrakara Painters and Lekhanakara Artists in Orissa

Delivered by

Dr. Dinanath Pathy

Director, Alice Boner Institute Varanasi

9th May 2009, Bhubaneswar

K.S. Behera (1939-2008) Emeritus Professor of Utkal University, is an eminent archaeologist and historian. He held various positions such as Professor and Head of the Post-Graduate Department of History, Utkal University; Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Utkal University; Dean, Faculty of Arts, Chairman, Post-Graduate Council, Utkal University; President, Orissa History Congress; Member, Central Advisory Board in Archaeology, Government of India; Member, Governing Body of the National Council of Science Museums; Fellow of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi; Vice Chancellor, Fakir Mohan University, Balasore.

His major publications include *Folk Art and Craft* (ed.), 1978; *Cuttack : 1000 years* (ed.) 2 vols, 1991; *Prachi Mahatmya* (in Sanskrit, ed.), 1992; *Temples of Orissa*, 1993; *Konarak : The Heritage of Mankind*, 2 vols, 1996; *Bhakti Vaibhava Natakam* (in Sanskrit, ed.), 1998; *Sculpture Masterpieces from Orissa : Style and Iconography*, co-author T.E. Donaldson, 1998; *Maritime Heritage of India* (ed.), 1999; *Charles Grome's Report on the Temple of Jagannatha* (ed.), 2002; *G. Webb's Report on the Temple of Jagannatha* (ed.) 2003, etc.

I am thankful to Jatindra K Nayak and Soubhagya Pathy for their help in preparing the manuscript.

Printed at Divya Mudrani, Divya Vihar, Samantarapur, Bhubaneswar

I am honoured to be invited by the Prof. K.S. Behera Memorial Trust, Bhubaneswar to deliver the 1st Memorial Lecture in honour of my late teacher, Prof. K.S. Behera. My acquaintance with Dr. Behera dates back to the 1970's when I was working on my project "History of Orissan Paintings from Pre-Historic to Modern times." I was then Curator of Art and Crafts in the Orissa State Museum. Though studies on Orissan temple architecture and temple sculptures were rather common, Orissan painting remained a virgin area, and scholars working on this field could be counted on one's finger tips. In the mid-1970s I set out in search of a supervisor who could guide me in my work. In course of my voyage I came in contact with almost all the stalwarts in the field of Art History in India, namely the legendary Dr. Sivaramamurthy, Director, National Museum, New Delhi ; Miss Jaya Appaswamy, Editor, Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi ; Prof. B.N. Goswamy, Panjab University, Chandigarh ; Prof. Anand Krishna, Banaras Hindu University ; Prof. Ratan Parimoo, M.S. University, Baroda, and Prof. D.P. Ghosh, Ashutosh Museum, Kolkata. Though their response was cordial, it was not convenient for me to do research at Utkal University with a guide working somewhere else and a government job requiring my presence at Bhubaneswar. Except Prof. Ghosh, none of these scholars had published anything on Orissan Painting. Utkal University, even after a much persuation refused to include D.P. Ghosh in their panel of supervisors because of some technical problems. I was left with very little choice and had to zero in on Dr. K.S. Behera who had then earned a name for his work on Konarka and was a Reader at Utkal University. His scholarship focussed on temple architecture and sculpture and painting was not for him an important area of interest.

However, working with Dr. Behera, I found him quite sympathetic to my problems. I finished my research in 1980. The outcome of my research was quite impressive in terms of its coverage of hitherto unknown visual materials comprising rock shelter, tribal, folk and classical paintings of Orissa. In the meantime, I had started collaborating with Dr. Eberhard Fischer, former director of the Museum Rietberg and our book on Orissa in German titled *Orissa Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien* (Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1980) focussed on several significant aspects of Orissa's visual culture and its multidimensional artistic life and cosmopolitan society. Dr. Behera, who could not be included in the Museum Rietberg Orissa Projects, never ceased to evince a keen interest in my individual or our collaborative work.

My preliminary acquaintance in the 1970s with Dr. Behera deepened in course of time and each of us valued the other's work, which furthered the research on Orissan art at international level. Eventually we became part of an international forum of scholars who worked on Orissan art. This forum comprised scholars such as Stella Kramrisch, Alice Boner, Eberhard Fischer, Thomas E. Donaldson, Joanna Williams, Kapila Vatsyayan and J.P. Das.

Though till date Orissa can not boast of a full-fledged Department of Art History, the Utkal University of Culture being in a shambles and with no academic credibility; the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology headed by Dr. Behera at Utkal University should be considered a welcome step in the right direction, fulfilling our aspirations to a certain extent.

Needless to say, in order to develop creative understanding of visual culture and writing on art having relevance to art practices, a proper Department of Art History is quite essential in Orissa. Art History's central

concerns such as identifying, categorizing, interpreting, describing and thinking about art, shape the discipline of Art History. These concerns in turn raise questions relating to our preoccupation with issues such as authorship, authenticity, and chronologically defined linear progression, all of which have informed the traditional canon of Art History; which may be only one way of looking at, analysing and historicizing art. Art History concerns institutions like museums, galleries and art schools. I am given to understand that the Department of Art History started by me at the graduation level in the B.K. College of Art and Crafts in 1980's is languishing without a committed faculty, vision and a sense of direction.

How sad that Dr. Behera passed away when so much remained to be accomplished. This presentation is a homage to him and his scholarship. I had shared several memorable moments with him as a co-panellist at seminars in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia,New Delhi and Bhubaneswar and at several colleges of our state. The list is a long one. At his behest I organised the Orissa History Congress at the B.K. College of Art and Crafts, where the idea of a Culture University in Orissa germinated, which unfortunately was first hijacked and then mismanaged for over a decade. I fondly remember how the symposium on "Historical Paintings of Orissa" was inaugurated at the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology on 9th January 1998 and how my doctoral thesis *Traditional Paintings of Orissa* served as the pedestal on which the inaugural lamp was placed. Prof. G.K. Das, the then Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, was on the lookout for able people to man his Konark Centre of Art. Inspired by my presentation, he told the partcipants in the symposium in his concluding remarks that I should be appointed as a professor of Art History and teach Orissan painting. In Orissa, such noble wishes are never fulfilled. However, I have no regrets.

The promise made by the University Department to publish my paper "Trends in the Traditional Paintings of Orissa" was not honoured. Ironically enough, the paper I am presenting today in honour of my late professor reflects some of the basic thoughts articulated in my earlier presentation.

Carrying forward the work of art historians such as Eberhard Fischer, J.P. Das and Joanna Williams concerning Orissan painting, we attempt here to focus on the art-stylistic developments of the past two hundred fifty years in the area of traditional painting[1]. National Museum, New Delhi and Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, together provide enough material – both *pata* paintings and illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts - to identify workshops and their masters. Unfortunately, the *pata* paintings in the collection of the National and State Museums are not good enough to substantiate our research findings. We, therefore, take into account a few more collections, such as the National Handicraft and Textile Museum, New Delhi and the Asutosh Museum, Kolkata and several important collections abroad such as the British Library, India Office Library, the Queen Her Majesty's Collection and Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris and National Museum, Copenhagen. Of course, there are other several public and private collections,[2] which contribute to our findings. This is an ongoing project and with each new finding, or with each re-reading of a painting, our earlier views and conclusions get altered.

In the great Oriya pictorial tradition, the art of palm-leaf and *pata* painting occupies a place of significance. Of course, one must include in it the stone sculptures, which are integral parts of ancient and mediaeval monuments. But the study of the pictorial tradition encompasses a

wider area of creativity including wood, metal and ivory sculptures and obviously the wall, stucco, cloth and paper paintings executed by *chitrakaras*. Our study would cover the work of traditional *chitrakaras* who were professionals as well as the work of poets and dilettantes who were non-professionals. Till the middle of 20th century, *pata* painting was a hereditary profession unlike palm-leaf painting, which was largely the work of scribes belonging to the literati, the *Karana* caste. However, we have several pieces of evidence signifying Brahmins, *chitrakaras*, people from cultivator and farming community and even untouchables as scribe-artists. This cross-community phenomenon is not unique to making of palm-leaf *pothis* alone, at the rural level; we have identified several workshops, belonging to a cross-section of caste communities.[3] *Pata* painting was initially a temple art and the art of palm-leaf was associated with literary movements. In Orissa, both the *pata* and *pothi* are deified and venerated in public and private shrines, a practice which has come to stay.

With the spread of *Vaishnava bhakti*, recital of Oriya *Bhagavata*, a transcreated work of the 16th-century Oriya poet, Jagannatha Dasa, became mandatory. This led to the emergence of an institution called *Bhagavata ghara* or *Bhagavata tungi*. A typical *Bhagavata ghara* accommodated in its paraphernalia, paintings of Jagannatha trinity, Radhakrishna and Nitai Gouranga on the wall, a painted wooden plaque (icon) bearing Radhakrishna images[4] and a set of palm-leaf manuscripts on a wooden tray placed on an altar. Thus a *Bhagavata ghara* mirrored a synthesis of pictorial and literary traditions. As the *Bhagavata* recital became popular in 17th and 18th centuries, there was a greater demand for the production of *pothis*, and obviously illustrated *pothis* could not be made easily as the volume was larger and there was need for engaging hundreds of expert scribe-artists and work demanding greater

creativity and patronage. The scribe-artists, therefore, thought good enough to illustrate only the tenth canto of the *Bhagavata*, which contained the portion relating to *Gopalila*. Later, *Gopalila* paintings were rendered on paper in several workshops not in Orissa alone but in Assam, Bengal, Andhra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Pahari regions. In these paintings, the visual is more significant than the textual, which was appended at the top or bottom of the painted format. In Orissa, productions of paper *Bhagavata* paintings became a collaborative work[5] of Rajasthani and Oriya painters working exclusively in Puri *mathas*, houses of patrons and pilgrim rest-houses. Such paintings contain texts both in Devanagari and Oriya scripts and Devanagari texts are not necessarily from the Oriya *Bhagavata*.

In Orissa, the *Bhagavata* tradition mirrored in textual, recitative, pictorial and performing modes was substantiated and joined by yet another vibrant tradition, the *Gitagovinda* tradition, equally relevant in texts, songs, pictures and performances. Together they demanded a larger chunk of cultural space in the life of the Oriya people. Like *Bhagavata* and definitely in its erotic *bhakti* appeal, the *Gitagovinda* overpowered even the *Bhagavata*.[6] The development of the *Gitagovinda* pictorial idiom in Orissa is a phenomenal one and the *Gitagovinda* palm-leaf paintings both in line and colour and in several formats are available in a large numer.

We include both the *Bhagavata* and the *Gitagovinda* paintings in the category of illustrated *Vaishnava* manuscripts and expand its scope further by bringing in *Ramayana* paintings comprising *Adhyatma Ramayana, Brahma Ramayana, Vaidehisha Vilasa, Lavanyavati*, a set of *Ramayana* paintings in the collection of Orissa State Museum, including the *Ramayana Kalamkari* textiles, Puri *Dasavatara* playing cards and Sonepur *Ramayana Ganjapas*. Of course, we include several *pata* paintings of *Krishnalilas*

and *Ramalilas* and wall paintings on the theme in *mathas* and temples, as well as illustrated manuscripts such as *Vidagdha Madhava Nataka* in Orissa State Museum, *Bhagavata Purana, Radhakrishnakeli, Akrura Upakhyana,*[7] *Rasakrida* in British Library and *Dasapoi* in Asutosh Museum, National Museum and Orissa State Archives.

Besides the *Vaishnava* palm-leaf paintings, the other genres of miniature paintings including the romantic *kavyas* emphasising the *nayaka* and *nayika* episodes, such as *Amarushataka, Rasika Haravali* and *Ushabhilasa;*[8] *silpa* texts such as *Silpa Ratnakara, Silpa Prakasa, Grihabandha Silpa, Vastusutra Upanisad* and *Saudhikagama*; dance and music texts such as *Ragachitra, Abhinaya Chandrika*; *Tantra* texts such as *Prasna Chudamani* and *Yantra Chudamani*[9] and erotic manuals comprising *Chausathi Ratibandha*.

Barring the *Vaishnava* miniatures, the rest of the paintings are non-religious and secular in nature.

Pata paintings do not display a great variety of themes because the painters had to work within specified religious canons. Nevertheless, they had to work also for the palace and the village. We would like to term these work as *seva* (temple service), *bethi* (gratis) and *jajamani* (customer service). *Seva* and *jajamani* had a codified repertory while *bethi* could at times spring surprises. These paintings are meant to show off painters' skill, artistry and imagination. They comprise paintings on music and the erotic. Our observation is based on two pictorial evidences available so far : one on *Raga - Ragini* published by Joanna Williams in *Lalit Kala*, New Delhi, 23, 1988 and the other on *Bandhas* - erotics by us in *Traditional Paintings of Orissa*, Bhubaneswar, 1990. Both the folded formats (portfolios) were acquired by Bhagavata Maharana in the 1980s from Athagada-Mathura in Ganjam district, and the painter is said to be one Raghunath Bindhaniratna, who was active in the mid 19th century. Though both the

portfolios appear to be in similar format and size, the one with *Raga-Ragini* paintings seem to be dominated by Telugu dress and ornaments and interestingly a few of the compositions bear Telugu captions.[9]

Viewed and analysed together, the palm-leaf and *pata* paintings indicate the involvement of both professional and non-professional painters. Working in the same milieu, they have produced a great variety of works catering to the taste of a diverse clientele. The non-professional group of painters adept at palm-leaf art were imaginative, stimulating; and secular although as pointed out earlier, they could regard scribing a *pothi* a religious act. They were often poets who created their poetic compositions and also scribed them. Within the overall gamut of "religiosity" or "sacredness" they as painters with a secular orientations always depicted Radha and Krishna as ordinary mortals consumating love in intense human erotica. It is not the artistry, but the theme and nature of patronage that lend a distinctive character to the illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts, and we have been taught to view the sensuously erotic-copulating figures such as of Krishna and Radha as manifestations of divine *lila* - love play. Our traditional bearing has taught us to understand these provocative motifs as sublime and otherworldly. But, to the modern mind, it seems outrageous and devoid of context.

We cannot remain content with just categorising the Oriya pictorial tradition as *pata* paintings and palm-leaf *pothi* illustrations. We would take a different course and divide them into two pan-Indian categories; namely murals and miniatures, because these involve the works of professional and non-professional painters we are talking about. While the work of professionals overlap categories of murals and miniatures mostly on wall, cloth and paper, the non-professionals' work is concentrated on palm-leaf miniatures. As a muralist, the *pata* painter is

a different person compared to his role as a *chitrakara* of *pata* paintings. The creative freedoms of a *chitrakara* on *pata* is severely limited because the themes are pictorially structured. These paintings are iconic and controlled by the priest community as per the injunctions of *dhyana mantra*. Most significant of these are the *Anasarapatis*, *Jatripatis* and several deities on wooden plaques (painted icons) meant for home shrines. On temple walls, the *chitrakara* operates in a wider space and tends to adopt a narrative stance. His story-telling mode comes out in all its flamboyance providing a contrast to iconic paintings. The *Janmapatis*, birth paintings and *lilapatis*, showing various manifestations paintings are no doubt supportive of a narrative mode but the compartmentalisation of space into squares, rectangles, circles, hexagonals, octagonals and ovals tends to be structured. To appreciate our viewpoint, one should compare the *Thiabadhia jatripati* of the Puri temple with the wall-painting on the same theme at Viranchinarayana temple, Buguda. Here, on the wall, the painter is liberated from rigid geometrical divisions. The space is fluid and airy. He even ignores the nomenclature and significance of *thia*, standing which refers to a vertical format. The Buguda format, which seems to be an improvement on the Puri format, conforms to the muralist tradition. Notwithstanding its larger canvas area, the Puri *Thiabadhia* is governed by miniaturist principles of making horizontal bands and it treats the bigger composition as a conglomeration of several miniatures. We would like to link this tendency of horizontal, spatial division to the tradition of temple building and its facial decorations.

In Orissan pictorial tradition, both the murals and miniatures are governed by the principle of linearity,[11] a mediaeval pan-Indian phenomenon (*apabhramsa* style), which however does not emerge from the Kailashanatha temple mural of Ellora although Moti Chandra contends

that it does. We also disagree with N.R. Ray and D.P. Ghosh who argue that it emerges from Sunderban copper plate. Linearity is an intrinsic sculptural quality that forms the very base of Orissan pictorial manifestations. The iron stylus, which is used to etch a palm-leaf, is somewhat akin to a chisel required to carve a stone. We find several line drawings on stone slabs in ancient and mediaeval Orissan temples, those signify either to half-finished sculptural work or to complete drawings of certain plans or *yantric* motifs. It is really strange how the practice of a non-professional painter corresponds to a professional painter's work and how linearity works as a binding force to sustain and uphold a pictorial tradition. Both professional *chitrakaras* and non-professional scribe-artists adhere to linearity not merely to delineate a motif but even to arrange a narrative horizontally in long friezes and bands. One can compare the decorative bands and panels in the interiors of the Dharakote Jagannatha temple with some of the compositions on oblong palm-leafs and ascribe the linear characteristics to common mediaeval painterly qualities.

The town of Dharakote and its Brahmin settlements and the other traditional villages such as Mundamarei in Ganjam district could be considered the nucleus of a vibrant regional pictorial tradition at work, in which the professional muralists, *pata* painters and palm-leaf painters shared a common grammar. The notable masters were Keshava Maharana, the chief of Dharakote professional painters' workshop and Raghunath Prusti, a diligent master scribe-artist, who has produced a large number of illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts (fourteen works)[12] comprising three *Gitagovinda pothis* (New Delhi private collection, Orissa State Museum Ext. 372 and National Museum), two *Ushabhilasa* (Mundamarei's Chinari Kamaraju Subudhi collection and Orissa State Museum), *Krupasindhu Jānana* (Nuagaon' Aurobindo Sangrahalaya),

Kundali Janana (Orissa State Museum Ext. 97), *Sangita Damodara* (Orissa State Museum Ext. 38), *Lavanyavati* (largely in Mundamarei Abeya Subudhi collections, ten leaves in Zurich Rietberg Museum collection and two leaves in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi collection, 10927-8), *Sobhavati* (Nuagaon Library ms. no. 1086: five fragments in New Delhi private collections), *Prasna Chudamani* (New York Public Library, Spencer collection ms. 2) and *Mahishasuramardini* (Elvehjem Museum of Art, Madison, Wisconsin, gift of Mrs. Earnest C. Watson, 1976-16).

By bringing Keshava Maharana[13] and Raghunath Prusti together in an appraisal, we intend to focus on a regional pictorial tradition that was significant in the Dharakote area in 19th and 20th centuries. One can notice similar motifs painted by both professional and non-professional artists with minor variations. We have made an art-stylistic analysis of murals, *pata*, palm-leaf and stone sculptures on temple walls in which a linear tradition functions at the basis of an art structure. To arrive at a fuller understanding, one can undertake a comparision between *Gajoddharana* and *Kamasabdha* motifs. Barring a few minor variations, the structural and spatial arrangements are virtually the same.[14]

The role of cultural tradition is so strong and pervasive that the murals, *pata* paintings, palm-leaf paintings and the sculptures share a common origin. Although palm-leaf manuscripts are no more prepared, the unified cultural profile is still being maintained by practicing painters. Prominent among them are Yogendra Mahapatra and Devendra Mahapatra. Dharakote regional workshop has produced *tantric*-architectural texts such as *Saudhikagama* and *Abhinaya Darpana Prakasa* besides, *Lavanyavati, Arttatrana Chautisa* and *Ragachitra*.

Another small town, Barapalli or Jayantigada in Ganjam district, not too far from Bhanjanagar, the birth - place of the 17th-century Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja, could be identified as another regional centre. A few notable works of art such as the *Ramapattabhisheka* murals at Jayantigada, wooden facade on the theme of Rama's coronation at Netagaon, Viranchinarayana murals at Buguda, as well as the *Rasikaharavali* palm-leaf paintings could be assigned to this centre. The Haravali Master, Buguda Master, Netagaon Master and the Barapalli Master and the Lavanyavati Master have emerged from the same painterly milieu[15] but the attempt to zero in on a specific regional tradition will inspire further research perhaps to come up with names of master-painters.

Colophons of illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts, which are meant to reveal names of the scribe-artists, provenance and time, do not always meet the needs of research scholars. On the contrary, they create confusion by providing too much vague generalised information. The manuscript in question is the *Gitagovinda* accompanied by the *Sarvangasundari* commentary. It carries a date that can be interpreted as either 1689 or 1916.[16] This is illustrated by Dhananjaya Dharani Deva. There are several other manuscripts that lack colophons but which match this master's style: a coloured *Ushabhilasa* (in Orissa State Museum, reproduced in Pani: 1984 and *Swiss Air Gazette*: 1985; photographs in both are by Eberhard Fischer); a large dispersed erotic work (possibly a *Kamasutra*);[17] a *Sangita Damodara* in the National Museum, New Delhi;[18] an *Amarushataka* and a *Gitagovinda* in the Museum Rietberg, Zurich. We reach such conclusions on the basis of art-stylistic observations.[19] (In the mean time, we have conclusively ascribed the Rietberg *Amarushataka* to Sharanakula Master and Rietberg *Gitagovinda* to Paralakhemandi Master.)[20]

While working on the *Amarushataka* palm-leaf manuscript in the collection of the Museum Rietberg, Zurich, we considered the colophon wherein the master of the *pothi* says, "I take refuge in Sri Ladukesha". Furthermore the artist says, "My lord is living under the banyan tree. Have mercy on me. He is of the Om form. Bestow knowledge on me and eradicate darkness!" The colophon does not end here ; to our great amusement it mentions a fascinating *sloka* whose translation is as follows: "When we, two eyes, went close to your years to tell (you something), O! Young woman, we failed to see the path because your (high) rising breasts blocked us. Hence, if you by chance should slip on the dangerous path and break your slender waist with a cracking sound, we (two eyes) will not be responsible." This witty, erotic Sanskrit poem - in which a man becomes utterly confused when, whispering something in his beloved's ears, he sees her wonderful breasts close up, does not belong to the *Amarushataka*, but was probably included by one of the owners of this *pothi*, (as poem number one) who found it charming. It seems to be a local poet's work because the onomatopoeic word '*mataditi*' used to describe the sound of the cracking in the last line was taken from the vernacular.[21] While analysing the paintings, we chanced upon three other illustrations : a coloured *Ushabhilasa*[22] in the Orissa State Museum and the other is a dispersed *Radhakrishnakeli*[23] also in colour in Suresh Neotia collection, Varanasi, the third one (only two leaves) is from the Konard and Eva Seitz Collection, recently gifted to the Museum Rietberg, Zurich, which already owned a third folio. Two more leaves of the same master are to be found in a private collection in Germany. The stylistic affinities shared by the three manuscripts are the similar treatment meted out to both sitting and standing human figures, the mannerism of wearing the sari with an extended conical end of the *panata*, the equal rendering of the erotic couples, the way the figures of Krishna are

etched out on these leaves, the carved wooden pillars, chariots and the herd of cows and calves. We have said that on all these illustrated folios, singular pictorial vocabulary has been used.

Out of Sharanakula master's work available so far, the *Amarushataka* drawings are outstanding in pure line and are singled out for their flow and calligraphic quality which testify to a master's artistic excellence, achieved over a lifetime.

In the absence of dated colophons, fashion motifs indicating a reliable period, visible British influence, but an archaic script and the depiction of a conservative setting, we assume that the creative life span of the Master of Sharanakula encompassed a period between 1775 and 1825. The *Amarushataka* manuscript seems to have been written and illustrated by him in the later part of his life, i.e. in the first quarter of the 19th century.[24]

The Sharanakula master and his work is ultimately part of a regional workshop centring on Nayagarh. From this workshop originated murals of Raghunatha temple, Odagaon,[25] the painted wood carvings of a priest and Rama figure from Nayagarh[26] and ivory statues of Radha and Krishna from Dasapalla now housed in the National Museum, New Delhi. The oeuvre of this workshop is varied and includes a wide range of art objects, such as murals, *pata* paintings, wood, metal and ivory carvings. At the sub-structure of this pictorial vocabulary is an intense linear quality that is pronounced in all these art forms.

Contiguous to Nayagarh are two other regional workshops of Ranpur and Khurdha. While Khurdha workshop has ceased to exist,[27] there are practising painters such as Rajana Maharana and his son, Kailash Maharana in Ranpur. Unfortunately the earlier murals in the Yajnesvara shrine in Ranpur are faded. The

important document relating to the Ranpur (Nayagarh) regional workshop is a four-page paper manuscript depicting Gopis on the bank of River Yamuna on a moonlit night.[28] The work is in the Asutosh Museum, Kolkata. Although D.P. Ghosh places these paintings in the 16th century, recent research identifies them as pages of a *chitrakara* sketchbook and does not assign it a date earlier than 19th century. The lines in these paintings betray a western tradition of moving a brush or a pencil several times on a paper with calligraphic accent before arriving at a distinct rendering. The Oriya *chitrakara* from the very start of his line is sure about the final outcome of his efforts, he therefore neither flatters nor makes vague preliminary attempts.

The other paper painting on heavily primed paper, mounted on linen, collected from Nayagarh regional workshop, also available in the Asutosh Museum, Kolkata is identified by D.P. Ghosh as "The Embassy."[29] To me this painting looks like the miniature format of a wall painting – a *chitrakara*'s work much akin to the wall painting at Viranchinarayana, Buguda. The writing on the upper right-hand portion of this painting, which comprises a list of names in Oriya characters such as Bandhu Mahapatra, his son Nidhi Mahapatra, Nidhi's son, Baidyanath Mahapatra and Kanduri Mahapatra need not necessarily refer to the authors of the painting. They were rather the custodians of the painting, and the painting could have been executed by one of the masters in the family and it was a contemporary of Buguda mural. The configuration of turban and tunic in the Buguda murals are similar to those in the 'Emassy' as well as the poses, largely profile faces, the heads lifted with dignity. The curve of Rishyasringa's legs is exactly that of dark attendant at the far right of the Embassy painting. The delicate floral sprays of the Embassy's architecture are used in borders at Buguda. Buguda Hiranyakasipu's

costume has some of the bold elegance of the dark attendant who stares out hauntingly towards the left end of the Embassy painting. In any case, D.P. Ghosh's wild guess that it was a painting on the theme "Embassy" in the 16th century is ruled out. What is important for us is to understand that, about two hundred years ago, the regional centres were quite active and had developed a pictorial vocabulary which covered exclusively neither *pata* painting nor murals, palm-leaf or paper.

The Puri workshop comprising Raghurajpur and Danda Sahi was an important regional workshop not because of its bold and simple art style alone but also for its religious affiliation to the temple of Jagannatha and the pilgrim town that produced a specific genre of painting called pilgrim paintings or *jatripati*. The great variety of style and format in this group is reported to us by Mildred Archer in the collection of India Office Library, London.[30] These came in different sizes and adopted methods to suit the taste and paying capacity of pilgrims visiting Puri. They include the tiniest *anguthi,* then *panna, nakhandia, thia, lingamastakia, mastakia, tinimandiria, sankhalabhi* (also pronounced as *sankhanabhi*), *karapatia, kathibandha, thiabadhia* and other varieties such as *harinagadi, Hanumanagadi*.

These *jatri* paintings were collected in large numbers by tourists who visited Puri. We find them in important collections (Copenhagen, Paris, London) all over the world. The *thiabadhia* Painting (*sankhanabhi*) in the Bibliotheqe Nationale, Paris is acquired in 1894 (Indian MS.1041). But the *sankhanabhijatripati* in the collection of National Museum, Copenhagen was executed in the 18th century and is the oldest.[31]

In the Puri workshop the *chitrakaras* paint various costumes of the trinity (Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra) on *patas* for the pilgrims and devotees.[32] A few

other paintings connected with the temple are also quite popular. These include *Kanchi-Kaveri* or *Kanchi Vijaya, dasavatara, Krishnalila, rasa*[33] pictures, *Kandarparatha* and *Navagunjara*. Most of the painters of the workshop have *seva* in the Jagannatha temple and *jajamani* in the villages in the locality. *Chitrakara seva* is listed in the *chhatisa niyoga* of the Puri temple and the painters are called upon to execute paintings on different festive occasions such as *snanayatra, anasara, rathayatra, jhulanayatra, Srikrishnajanma, Krishnalila, Vamanajanma, sahasrakumbhabhisekha, dasahara, dolayatra, kandarpa adhivasa* and *damanakachori, chandanayatra,* and *Rukminivivaha*. In the *jajamana seva* are included services such as painting the walls of *jega ghara, akhada ghara,* doors of houses (Ganesa, Bhairava and Mahadeva are painted on Rekha Panchami-fifth day of the dark fortnight of *Bhadrapada*) paintings during weddings and paintings on wooden plaques.[34] The most conspicuous of these are the *anasara* paintings of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannatha termed as Sankarshana, Bhubanesvari and Narayana (Nilamadhava in South Orissa). Such *anasarapatis* are created every year by the Puri painters not simply in this pilgrim town but almost in all traditional Jagannatha temples in Orissa. Interestingly, there is a standard iconography, which is followed in all these places. But differences become evident in stylistic details such as the bearded double–chin of the god, the designs on the dresses, the folds in the dhoti, the shape of the jewellery, crowns, and other emblems. The painters in Jayapur, Koraput, for instance, use dark blue for Jagannatha's body, where as those in Puri use pure black; in Puri, the god's face is framed by a cropped white beard but in the South, this is black. In Jayapur, a green *prabha*-halo- forms the background of the god's head, an extra ring adorns the right ear, the lotus held in the left hand is still a bud, the *chakra* is painted, a 'U' shaped sign is

painted on the stomach, etc. All these details are omitted in Puri, where Jagannatha is depicted as being worshipped by a group of seven priests, and this in turn is not shown in paintings from southern Orissa.

Puri workshop products also include palm-leaf paintings of *Bidagdha Madhava Nataka* in the Orissa State Museum and *Devi Mahatmya* in the Museum Rietberg. The earlier works of this region were robust, minimal in their preference and severely limited in the colour application. The lines were bold and rather thick. One can find these stylistic features in the wall paintings and *pata* paintings in several *mathas* and temples in Puri town. The Gangamata *Matha* paintings, Bada Odia *Matha* paintings, paintings of Uttara Parsva *Matha*, Emara *Matha* have these elemental features in their murals.[35] These highly frontal, iconic stately figures under standard *pidha* niches with threefold arches, decorated with birds perching on their rooftops are missing from later Puri workshop productions. Such paintings are strictly within *anasarapati* formats and form an iconic group. One can compare the Sarvabhauma portrait of Gangamata *Matha* with the portrait of Jayadeva in the *Gitagovinda* illustration of painter Dhananjaya which is accompanied by Dharanidhara's commentary. Both the figures betray typical Puri *panda* physiognomy and appearance. Interestingly, the disposition of the *panda* offering *arati* to the Balabhadra image in the Srikurman Mural in Andhra Pradesh is similar to that one comes accross in Sarvabhauma painting of Puri. Could this lead us to suppose that some Puri *panda* might have been employed here to perform services in the Srikurmam temple ? Dhananjaya, a Brahmin painter active around 1689 or 1916 (we prefer to give a date in the 19th century. The drawings in this famous *Gitagovinda* manuscript are assorted and belong to at least three hands in different periods of time between 18th to 20th centuries). We would

like to place Dhananjaya in the Puri workshop, who displays a limited repertoire of postures and gestures with the figures having large faces, almost square, with expressive features. The narrow elliptical eyes have big pupils in the centre and seem to glow with smiles. The eyebrows sweep horizontally and above them one sees a narrow forehead to the hairline. The noses are perfectly pointed and the nostrils round. Stylistically, the *Radhakrishnakeli* of British Library, London displays certain features which are akin to some features in Dhanajaya's *Gitagovinda*. These features are the coitus postures of Radha and Krishna, the manner of wearing *sari* falling down to the knees and showing the bare legs while walking, the fish motif in the river Yamuna, the placement of potted plants in the garden, the long plaited hair of Krishna and the sitting stances of female figures.

Sometimes the illustrator makes use of three-quarter profiles. Women are clad in saris, which are thrown across their heavy and round breasts.[36] The *Ravanarachhatrabhanga* painting on the wall of Uttara Parsva *Matha* compared with the stone relief of the same theme in the Dolavedi, Puri town, indicate the linear composition characteristics of the sculptural tradition.[37] In these panels, one finds square faces, elliptical eyes and narrow foreheads. While the sculpture is perfectly balanced in Orissan tradition, the features, particularly the peacock feather-like three-petalled plumes that emerge from a headband, long flowing hairs of Lakshmana and Rama, the demarcation of breast lines on the chest and the slimy stomach with a suggestion of hairline are typical of Kalighat paintings. Bengali influence is quite discernible in several painted stucco figures inside the *jagamohana* and *mukhasala* of the main temple in the Jagannatha temple complex. The foliage on the trees, the rendering of grass on the ground and the tendency to provide modelling through shading the bodies and costumes indicate modern

influence and these suggest a late date in the 20th century. We normally boast of our unspoilt Oriya cultural tradition in the Puri Jagannatha temple, but the reality specifically in the pictorial tradition is deplorable. None of the murals and painted stucco figures display any sensibility of the Oriya tradition.[38]

Taking the ritualistic significance of *anasarapatis* into account, one compares the style from Cuttack regional workshop with those of Puri and Jayapur. The Cuttack region, for our purposes, comprises Cuttack (Dharadharpur from where several modern paper painting sets have been procured for the Orissa State Museum and the portrait of Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar on ivory plate is produced in bad Moghul style of painting), Maniabandha, Nuapatna[39] and Athagada.

Earlier we have reproduced Jayapur[40] *anasarapatis* and discussed them. The common features of these paintings are their severely frontal character, iconic stance, frontal linear *mukuta* and a leaf-shaped green halo. While the halo is absent in Puri *patis*, it forms a conspicuous motif in other regional workshops, such as Puri, Cuttack, Jayapur, Paralakhemandi and Digapahandi. Digapahandi, which is geographically situated in south Orissa has a stylistic affinity with Chikitigada. This relation could be further extended to another centre in Srikakulum in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh, bordering south Orissa. Jayapur, Paralakhemandi and Srikakulum have a contiguous territory and therefore there are strong reasons for the stylistic affinity they share. For identifying a master or masters within a regional workshop, we depend on the colophon of an illustrated manuscript or an inscribed painting. Jayapur workshop provids us with interesting information on the *chitrakara* family in the town. The Srikalika temple[41] has murals, which carries an inscription dating to 1959 and has been painted by Gopinath Chitrakara assisted by his three sons,



Puri-Raghurajpur workshop
Sankhanabhi yatra pata
Painting depicting the Jagannatha temple complex and the sacred town of Puri, 18th century
Collection : National Museum, Copenhagen







Puri workshop, Sankarshana (Balabhadra), Bhubaneswari (Subhadra), and Narayana (Jagannatha), *anasara pata*

Surangi workshop (?)
Ramapattabhisheka, coronation of Rama, painted "book cover", Collection : Museum Rietberg Zuirch

Chikiti workshop
Ramapattabhisheka, painted wooden plaque



Sharanakula workshop, *Ushabhilasa*, palm-leaf painting.
Collection : Orissa State Museum,

Ushabhilasa, palm-leaf painting.
Collection : Orissa State Museum, Photo : Eberhard Fischer



Nayagarh workshop
Embassy, painting on cloth, Collection Ashutosh Museum, University of Kolkata

Ranpur-Nayagarh workshop
Gopis on the Bank of River Yamuna, painting on paper
Collection Ashutosh Museum, University of Kolkata

Jujesti, Simanchala and Lakshmana.[42] After scanning the family records and interviewing painters, we came to the conclusion that the murals were first painted in 1898 by Bhagirathi Paikray, a professional *chitrakara* from Paralakhemandi. These murals adorn the first (i.e. the first remembered), later demolished, mud-wall structure. The second painting was again produced by Bhagirathi in 1924 and was assisted by his son Simadri Paikray. The third mural (the once we photographed in 1979, fig. 3) was done in 1959 by Gopinath Mahapatra, the son-in-law of Bhagirathi Paikray.

Thus, within the span of a century (and in the absence of a major calamity or extraordinary destructive event) the murals of the Srikalika temple were painted four times. This is not the case with Srikalika temple alone, most of the temple murals which exist in the interiors of temples and *mathas* have been repainted. In certain cases, we could decipher the repainting from the unimaginatively thick lines, which have made the paintings look dull. Not only a *chitrakara*'s work is renewed, most of the palm leaves are copies of the earlier ones. The *pata* paintings, which are connected with rituals, like the paintings of Kali banner or the *Khudurukunipati* featuring Mangala are renewed.

Besides these, three most prominent replacement rituals, there is a wide network of renewals and replacements in *shakta* shrines, particularly during *Navaratri* celebrations when *Durgashtamipatas* painted on cloth layered wooden planks are used in the rituals and immersed at the end of the festivals. In *Vaishnava* shrines, where wooden images of Radhakrishna and Rama, Lakshmana and Sita are worshipped, renewal is done annually, or when necessary. The painting of *Mahishamardinidurga* with *Ashtadurga* is done in south Orissa in various zamindaris. Durga is the protector of the fort and the symbol of power and energy. Annually

during the *Navaratra* festival, an elaborate ritual is performed in these places, shrines as well as in the temporary structures especially built for the purpose. This *Navaratri puja* symbolises the Sanskrit tradition both in the painting and ritual, where the king and upper class Brahmins are involved.

The *Navaratri* classical tradition and the *Osakothi* folk tradition reflect two levels of artistic expressions and manifestations. While Siva is totally absent as the central image without being subverted to Kali in the painted panels related to *Navaratri puja* (best exemplified in Srikalika temple paintings), the *Osakothi* paintings, product of the traditional *chitrakara* workshop, present Siva as an important central motif whereas the non-traditional *chitrakaras* paint Mangala as the central image, never substituting Mangala by the Siva figure. If we look upon Mangala as an important common motif, we can weave a thematic relation with other regional workshops. Similarly, the painting of Durga is another motif : a goddess to be represented in a number of workshops. Strangely enough, we find an exclusive combination of Mangala and *Mahishamardinidurga* in the *Durgashtamipata* of Sonepur workshop.

Durga in combination with Jagannatha forms a popular theme for *Durgamadhavapata* common to several workshops in coastal and south Orissa is a significant painted plaque required for auspicious beginnings like entering a new home, wedding and thread ceremonies. Such newly combined iconic painted plaques are the innovative ideas of the painters, which enjoy the formal approval of the priests.

Several painted plaques such as that of Radhakrishna, Durgamadhava and *Mahisamardinidurga* from Paralakhemandi regional workshop were reproduced by us in 1980.[43] These, along with painted

plaques from Digapahandi and Khallikote[44] regional workshops, provide us a stylist basis of *chitrakara* work. The Khallikote work is simple and neat displaying the following features : cubic accentuated limbs of Radha covered with plain sari, body without blouse, round face of Krishna with a pointed nose. These works are to be analysed along with palm-leaf engravings of Michha Patajoshi from the village of Balukeshvarapur near Khallikote. Michha illustrated various *Vaidehisha Vilasa* texts; often working on different versions simultaneously. Joanna Williams refers to eight different copies he made to comply with satisfy customers' requests.[45] Apart from these densely illustrated manuscripts, he also produced a number of views of the temples of Puri, souvenirs for the pilgrims.[46] Michha Patajoshi excels in the narrative mode, reconciling visually the qualities of humour and sensuousness one finds blessed in Upendra Bhanja's poetry.

Brajanatha Badajena was a resident of Dhenkanal, but active in south Orissa and Puri towards the end of the 18th century. A section of a *Bhagavata purana* that discovered in the village Bhilingi in Srikakulum *taluk* in Andhra Pradesh was illustrated by the painter-poet Brajanatha Badajena as early as 1795. This is one of the earliest known engraved palm-leaf manuscript with pictures.[47] The work of Badajena is not uniform, lines are not firm and precise, possibly because of old age but the figures are done very carefully and often wittily conceived. Noticeable are the several caricatures of ascetics, unshaved male figures and very human looking gods and demons.

Michha Patajoshi was not influenced by the local *chitrakara's* work nor was Brajanatha Badajena by the murals of Srikurmam or Meliaput. Thus, two temple murals, works of the *chitrakaras* were governed by a southern idiom. One can trace out the Deccan Muslim fashion in the costumes of horse-riders supposed to be

Balabhadra and Jagannatha in disguise, marching at the head of an army to Kanchi. The horses are spiritedly drawn and the riders' faces are shown square with long sideburns and wavy moustaches. The formatting of this popular painting rendered archaic in *pata* in Puri regional workshop differs in its intensity. The Srikurman mural is flowing and has captured the speed of the steeds in its moving lines. The background white colour faded with time gives it an antique look. However, one can compare the figure of Manika offering curd with Radha offering betel in Khallikote *pata* in Asutosh Museum for their feelings of oneness with the Lord although they differ in their body contours. The *Shesashayi* Vishnu of the Srikurmam mural,[48] on the other hand, possesses the iconic features of one of the *Vaishnava* preachers in the Emara *Matha*, particularly the Ramanuja painting. Although, the Srikurmam *vastraharana* painting relies on routine spatial arrangements, it has a freshness in the total layout and its *Gopi*s beseeching Krishna to give them their clothes have spontaneity compared with those in painting of a similar theme executed by Lakshmana Rupakarāratna[49] at Chikitigada. For example, the treatment of the transparency of water and the stencilled-out fishes and lotuses against a dark background have not yet been developed in Srikurmam, which we find as a mannerist disposition later in *pata*, mural and palm-leaf paintings of Dharakote, Digapahandi, Chikiti and Puri workshops. However, it is interesting to observe the similarity of the sitting postures of Krishna perched on the *kadamva* tree in all *vastraharana* paintings. The narrative framework in all the regional workshops provide a unifying structure underlying local variations.

The other mural paintings[50] in the Jagannatha *Matha* in Matham Kanchili and Narayana Swamy *Matha* in Sariapalli both included in the Srikakulam regional workshop, are the work of Lakshmana Rupakararatana.

This workshop had received patronage from Ramakrishna Chhotray, Raja of Jalantara, and Rajas of Tarala and Manjusa. Attention is drawn to the *nagaphasa* painting of the Kanchili Matha and its related motifs on palm-leaf by Sarathi Madala Patnaik in *Adhyatma Ramayana*[51] (New York Public Library, 1891), Satrughna in *Vaidehisa Vilasa*[52] (Baripada, 1833), *Michha Patajoshi* in *Vaidehisa Vilasa* (Mahavir Jain Aradhana Kendra, 1902 and Asutosh Museum, Kolkata, 1926).[53] Although these are structurally similar, the Kanchili painting, which imaginatively encircles monkeys within the coils of snakes, is more elaborate and meaningful.

One also tends to establish similarities between the figure of Krishna lifting the Mount Govardhana in the Srikurmam mural (Pathy, 1981, fig. 25) and that of Rama raising his bow to break the royal umbrellas of Ravana (Pathy, 1993, fig. 6). Though the characters and their actions are totally different, the images of valour they project are similar since they both belong to Srikakulum workshop.

Equally similar in rendering are the *Ravanarachhatrabhanga* paintings in Kanchili and Buguda. One can also compare the paintings of Hanumana, Garuda in Sariapalli (Pathy, 1993, figs. 15-16; and 2001, fig. 4.) with similar ones in Buguda. The most conspicuous painting in the murals is that of *Lankagada* in Kanchili (Pathy, 1993, fig. 5).[54] It is visually striking for its unique composition and different from the temple and palace complex paintings on palm-leaf shown laterally obviously for the limited space offered by the narrow oblong palm-leaf. The *Lankagada* painting is more strikingly different from large *pata*s distinguished by the detailed plan of the Puri Jagannatha paintings belonging to the Puri regional workshop. No doubt, *Lankagada* painting tells a story but it is not a densely structured birth or *lila* painting in its pattern of organisation. While the Puri paintings look set

in a much tried-out format, the Kanchili one is fresh and innovatively executed with airiness and spontaneity. The Paralakhemandi workshop with its murals in Radhagovinda and Radhakanta *Mathas* in the town and Radhakrishna temple, Meliaput, offers paintings in the narrative tiers resembling palm-leaf work. But these have liberal expressions which overflow the rigid structures.

Balabhadra Pathy is another notable scribe-illustrator, whose illustrated *Gitagovinda* mentions that he worked in Jalantara, a small princely state within the Srikakulum territory. Ramakrushna Chhotray, the Raja of Jalantara had composed a play titled *Prahllada Nataka*, which made a rich contribution to the performing tradition in south Orissa. Joanna Williams dates Balabhadra's works to late 18th or 19th century.[55] His work has distinctive southern features. It is tempting to compare his round-eyed faces with so-called *Paithan* painting, or with south Indian shadow puppets.[56] Pathy's use of colour, is unique among the Orissan manuscripts and is vaguely similar to a set of Telugu *Ramayana* illustrations. However, there is no significant co-relation of iconography.

So far we have not discussed the work of Master Shatrughna who was active around 1830-50. He is a very famous and eccentric scribe, whose most important work is Baripada *Vaidehisha Vilasa*. The text has a colophon, which states that he had scribed the illustrated *pothi* in 1833. His somewhat raw lines lack the elegance of the south Orissa masters, his contemporaries. His translucent colouring is often rather coarse; the black areas are somewhat heavy. Still, his vivid compositions are characterised by an intensity resulting from crowded ornamentation, the variety of scenery, the manifold grouping of figures, and minute details.[57] The Master of the Baripada *Amarushataka* was active around 1800. Details about the person who illustrated the partly

coloured "Baripada *Amarushataka*" are not available.[58] The work, on the other hand, is characterised by a very individualist style with massive architecture and shifted figures: plump women and extremely slim-waisted but broad-shouldered men who are all luxuriously clad. Emotions are cleverly conveyed through fervent gestures.[59] Because of strong traditional mediaeval Hindu culture, we tend to believe that the oeuvre of Baripada Master in *Amarushataka*[60] is influenced not by the Bengal tradition, which was prevalent in the bordering towns and districts but by a distinctive Srikakulum regional workshop. The 20th century murals in the Jagannatha temple in Baripada, employ modern Bengal idioms, which is no surprise at all. We commissioned the local painters to paint the *anasarapatis*, they claimed to supply the temple. But the result was disastrous. And they have no sense of any tradition. However, the *mana*, a measuring basket with painted relief and lacquer works from Baripada, near Balasore town have a visibly Bengali style and are folksy in their disposition. The summary lines for eyelids, eyebrows, mouth and decoration on the body of these measuring baskets offer a strong contrast to the Baragarh wooden toys, which reveal an affinity with the Sonepur regional style.

The regional workshop in Sonepur, and Nemna (Dayanidhi Maharana, Madhusudan Maharana active around 1870s) which has specialised in *Ramayana ganjapa*, reveals strong predilection for strong angular features with jerky accentuation. But murals and *Durgashtamipata* paintings, executed by the Sonepur *chitrakaras* are in some significant way connected with potters' work. So far, no illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts have been traced in this area. In its present operational style, without much reference to a strong classical style, we tempt to add the Baragarh workshop in Sambalpur district to our list. The present operational style found in painted Baragarh toys,

terracotta roof tiles and wheeled Hanumana from Sonepur have absorbed certain tribal and folk features from adjoining central Indian (Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh) styles. This area is particularly known (which stretches upto Bolangir) for its tie-dye textiles, and one can profitably compare the motifs of fish, lion, elephant on textiles with painted elephants and monkeys.

The Kosalesvara temple murals in Keonjhar district reproduced by us in 1981[61] and 2001, do not testify to a traditional workshop practice. Having come across a sketch of a Krishna, flute in hand from the under layer of lime plaster from a local temple in Bhavanipatna in Kalahandi district, we presume that these are the works of visiting painters from Baragarh. At present, handicrafts-school-trained painters work in modern workshops in Keonjhar. But they are influenced by the Kalighat style which reveals a predominance of blues and yellows. We have in our collection a painting of Siva riding a composite elephant with a strange iconography. Citing the post-Gupta Sitavinji mural in Keonjhar to establish chronology is of no consequence. Very few painters are aware of the existence and importance of such a significant mural in the district.[62]

Even today, Orissa boasts of a reasonable network of *chitrakara* workshops. We have not included more than seventy workshops exclusively connected with the tradition of *Osakothi* paintings concentrated in the district of Ganjam and spread over sparsely in south Orissa. The *chitrakara* workshops are male-oriented and in principle headed by a male person who is the head of the family. No doubt, the family members participate in the activities of the workshop, and there is distribution of labour. However, their participation is limited to the preparation of *patis*, cooking of the glue, making of the chalk liquid, colours and filling in the first coat painting in the areas defined by the chief artist. The laying out of the concept

with preliminary sketching and the final lining, *sarukalakama* is the prerogative of the master painter. Therefore, a workshop maintains the stylist lineage of the head of the family and the women members who join the family through the marriage do not normally influence the basic style. However in Dhenkanal town, we chanced upon a workshop headed by Netrananda Mahapatra producing works in the Puri/Bhubaneswar style, which aroused our curiosity. Enquiries revealed that a woman, Dinamani Mahapatra, the sister of Binod Maharana, managed the workshop with the assistance of her son, Jitendra Mahapatra, since Netrananda has switched to appliqué. Apart from matrimonial bonds, which keep the *chitrakara* network alive and vibrant, there is hardly any visible stylist input from the in-laws' families.

We find it difficult to subscribe to the theory of 'centripetality' making Puri the nucleus of the *chitrakara* world. Puri, is one of the four *dhamas* in India and an important religious centre for all the Hindus. It is also a fact that every Oriya wishes to visit Puri at least once in his/her lifetime and, the pilgrims who have visited Puri, also includes artists. As the *Gajapati* kings "monopolised" the Jagannatha temple in Puri to legitimise their power, the *Gadajata* states commenced construction of Jagannatha temple as a symbolic declaration of independence.[63] Several such temples were built in different parts in Orissa[64] and *chitrakaras* were recruited and local resource was exploited. Orissa had a long tradition of temple building and *Maharana* masons, stonecutters, stone-carvers are locally available, who now followed the style of painting, adopted for fashioning Jagannatha images. Neither the artistic skills making these images demanded nor the painterly paraphernalia were intricate enough to call for special recruits from Puri. When the temple was being built, the images were also simultaneously carved and painted. In course of time, a relationship developed

between the temple of Jagannatha and the *chitrakaras* who were supported by the temple for their services, boasted of their association with it and that was seen to enhance their status. A number of *chitrakaras* preferred to emphasise their association with Puri and a theory of migration was developed. At the same time there are also records to prove that painters were sent from Puri on special request.[65]

In *Puri Paintings*,[66] J.P. Das informs us of how matrimonial alliances multiplied families and connected *chitrakaras* to Jagannatha temples located in different towns. Therefore, instead of recruiting *chitrakaras* from Puri, local arrangements were made. This shows how Raghunatha Mahapatra, a Puri painter recruited for Athagada Jagannatha temple was eventually responsible for a genealogy of painters in the neighbouring towns such as Nayagarh, Ranpur and Itamati.[67] Therefore, stylistically the pictorial language adopted by these *chitrakaras* in their workshops was Oriya; there were nevertheless dialectical distinctions[68], which are of prime importance for a study of developments.

In the present time, we witness a large migration of sculptors[69] and painters from Puri, Raghurajpur Mathura, Lalitgiri and Cuttack to Bhubaneswar. Their decision to migrate is guided by government patronage and commercial incentives. Most of the 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century Jagannatha temples, which once caused an administrative, political and cultural revival based on religious faith with art functioning as a catalyst, are either abandoned or languishing in the absence of patronage. The Raja who was once regarded as Lord Vishnu in human form has lost all his splendour and became a mute witness to the process of decay. The rituals in the temples have been minimised and making of *anasarapati* that was so vital for *chitrakara seva*, is performed only annually in a limited number of temples.

Pata painting in Puri and Raghurajpur was revived in the fifties[70] of the last century. During this half a century period, it has transformed into a tourist painting marked by over-ornamentation, garish colours and dense unwanted border decorations and unnecessary crowding figures. *Pata* is being replaced with *tassar* and indigenous earth and mineral colours with chemical shades. *Guru-shishya* teaching and learning *parampara* has given way to syllabi oriented disseminations. *Tassar* paintings (a new nomenclature for *pata* painting) are mostly bought and sold. The ritualistic aspects are losing their importance, but *chitrakaras* attached to the Jagannatha temple are still availing themselves of the patronage of the temple administration, although the temple administration is now employing modern painters for painting the temple interiors. Raghurajpur has been declared a Craft Village and the intervention of INTACH (Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage) has ruined the artistic fabric of the once glorious village. Government wants to improve the status of the painters, but the insensitive handling of a potent art form has resulted in loss of several regional workshops and styles. But it is still heartening to find traditional painters surviving in remote pockets not with government help but on local patronage. Thanks to the *jajamani* system, it is still in existence.

The conditions of murals in the temples, which are the work of the *chitrakaras*, are not encouraging. It is no wonder, therefore, to find painters of Puri and Raghurajpur revering the Buguda murals as one of the models of their craft.[71] Does that mean the Buguda workshop produced better work in the early 19th century compared to that in Puri, which has still a few murals in the interiors of Jagannatha temple complex and the *mathas*. Thanks to the patronage of the temple, the style of the Puri painting survived in spite of changes. But it is a matter of regret that better works have disappeared?

The strength of the Puri paintings is its iconic character.[72] and with the passage of time even this became decadent.

The art of the palm-leaf is dead with books printed on paper in printing presses. The juxtaposing images with the texts is at times done but the style of the images is western-modern and the image has no individual standing. Since thirty to forty years, the professional painters have taken to scribing palm-leaf, but the product does not constitute a manuscript. For purposes of scribing, the painter prefers to join the oblong palm leaves horizontally to create a rectangular space in which he is traditionally adept at delineating a theme. But this is not palm-leaf *pothi* art. Only occasionally does the village horoscope maker scribe a *janmapati* (*jataka*) on a palm-leaf.

The Orissa State Museum does not have a gallery displaying fascimile copies of murals. A project could be taken up to prepare facsimile copies of murals with the help of experts. The mistakes commited by INTACH (Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage) at Raghurajpur should in no way be allowed to be repeated. In Orissa museums, we do not have varieties of playing cards, *jatripatis*, and icon paintings. In the absence of a Handicraft Museum in Orissa, the State Museum could take the initiative of strengthening its Art and Crafts Gallery. An attempt was made to create a Jagannatha Gallery (with an alternative nomenclature to Puri Painting) with the display of *pata* paintings related to the temple and the theme. But it led nowhere. It is regrettable that the State Museum does not have catalogues of illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts and *pata* paintings.

Footnotes

1. See also Goswamy, B.N. "Pahari Painting : The family as the Basis of Style" In *Marg*, 21,4 : 17-62, 1968

[2]Utkal University Library, Bhubaneswar ; Library of Department of Oriya, Visva Bharati University, Santiniketan; Aurobindo Sangrahalaya, Nuagaon; Jubel Library, Baripada; Bharat Kala Bhawan and Gyana Pravaha, Varanasi; L.D. Institute of Indology and Calico Museum, Ahmedabad; C.L. Bharany Collection and Poonam Bakliwal, New Delhi; Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Kolkata ; Shri Mahavir Jain Aradhana Kendra, Koba; Jagdish and Kamal Mittal Museum, Hyderaba; New York; Public Library and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Edwin Binney, San Diego; George Bickford Collection, Cleaveland; Elvehjem Museum, Madison, Wisconsin; Spencer Collection, Astor; Lenox and Tilden Foundations and Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.

[3]Fischer, Eberhard, and Dinanath Pathy. *Murals for Goddesses and Gods: The Tradition of Osakothi Ritual Paintings in Orissa, India.* New Delhi and Zürich, 1996.

[4]These images were carved out of neem wood and painted by the *chitrakars*. These were required to be repainted annually to give them new life.

[5]See back jacket for "*Bhagavata* painting in a foreign collection." of Pathy, Dinanath. *Traditional Paintings of Orissa.* Bhubaneswar, 1990.

[6]Pathy, Dinanath. "Painting." In *Jayadeva and Gitagovinda in the Traditions of Orissa*. Ed. Dinanath Pathy, Bhagaban Panda and Bijay Kumar Rath. New Delhi, 1995.

[7] Losty, Jeremiah P. *Krishna: A Hindu Vision of God.* London, 1980.

[8]The epic poem composed by poet Sishu Sankar Das in the middle of 16th century has drawn its narrative from the legendary love story of Usha and Aniruddha which finds mention in the *Bhagavata, Brahma Vaivarta Purana* and *Oriya Mahabharat* of Sarala Dasa.

[9]The *Raga-Ragini* paintings are normally compared with the sketch book drawings of Dasarathi Mahapatra, son of the famous *chitrakar* and the poet Jadumani Mahapatra who was active till 1866 in Nayagarah. But the comparison is confined only to the themes, a close examination shows that style-wise the

paintings and sketch book drawings have very little in common. Even the drawings of Raghunath Prusty in *Sangeet Damodara* are stylistically different. Although the music tradition was strong in many South Orissan royal courts including Ghumusara, Dharakote and Athagada, because of the presence of Telugu captions and strong Telugu mannerism in dress like *langa, choli*, long tassled plait with strings of flowers and use of *notha*, the influence of Paralakhemandi or Chikiti workshop style cannot be ruled out in these portfolio paintings. These two portfolios may not belong to one workshop because of divergent interests in patterning arches, trifold in *Raga-Ragini* and Romanesque in erotic paintings. Interesting enough, the formats bearing Telugu captions have clouds painted in European fashion and are without trifold arches on the top frames. This is an indication that more than one artist have worked on this set and the Telugu speaking painter might have interefered with the captions. See Williams, Joanna, "A Painted Ragamala from Orissa" In *Lalit Kala*, New Delhi, PP.14-18, 1988

[10]Das, J.P. *Chitra Pothi*. New Delhi, 1993; Subas Pani. Ed. *Illustrated Palm-leaf Manuscripts of Orissa: A Selection from the Orissa State Museum*. Bhubaneswar, 1984.

[11]Pathy, Dinanath. *Traditional Paintings of Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1990, pp. 43-4. The essential features of this linear style are a strictly linear profile view of heads, double chins, three quarter rendering of the body and sharp angular treatment of the limbs. These characteristics are sometimes accompanied by the protrusion of the further eye, mostly noticed in Western Indian Paintings. This style, by the 11th and 12th centuries must have become an all-India property of art conception, more or less in a developed form.

[12]J.P. Das and Joanna Williams have identified and discussed thirteen works in different libraries and collections in India and abroad. See Das, J.P. and Joanna Williams. *Palm-Leaf Miniatures – Art of Raghunath Prusti*. New Delhi, 1991; and we (Eberhard Fischer and Dinanath Pathy) have discussed one *Arttatrana Chautisa* from Digapahandi; see Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "*Arttatrana Chautisa*– Illustrations by Raghunath Prusti: An Oriya Palm-leaf Manuscript of Prayer by a 19th Century Painter." In *Indian Painting: Essays in Honour of Karl J. Khandalavala*. New Delhi, 1995.

[13]See Pathy, Dinanath. *Art: Regional Traditions The Temple of Jagannatha -- Architecture. Sculpture. Painting. Ritual*. New Delhi, 2001.

[14] See Ibid PP.176-177

[15]Due to want of evidence, we are unable to provide the names of the master artists.

[16]Elsewhere we have suggested that the Master of Buguda could possibly be from the *chitrakara* workshop of Chikiti, the possibility of this being a collaborative work is not ruled out; see Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Ed. Pratapaditya Pal. Marg, Mumbai; see also Williams, Joanna. *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. Berkley, 1996: 47.

[17]Published by Anand-Dane, 1982. Folios are in the Brooklyn Museum, in the National Gallery of Victoria, and in several private collections.

[18]Das, J.P. *Chitra Pothi: Illustrated Palm-leaf Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from Orissa*. New Delhi, 1985.

[19]See Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Ed. Pratapaditya Pal. Marg, Mumbai, 2001.

[20]This *Gitagovinda* palm-leaf manuscript will be published in German language by the Museum Rietberg, Zurich under the joint authorship of Eberhard and Barbara Fischer and Dinanath Pathy, shortly.

[21]See Fischer and Pathy. *Amorous Delight: The Amarushataka Palm-Leaf Manuscript Illustrated by the Master of Sharanakula (Orissa, India)*. Zurich, 2006.

[22]Another splendid illustrated *pothi* of thirty-one folios belonging to the Orissa State Museum has been published in Mahapatra, Sitakant. Ed. *Ushabhilasa*. New Delhi, 1995.

[23]The complete, beautifully illustrated *pothi* in the British Library (OR. 11612) produced by another master has been published in Losty, Jeremiah P. *Krishna: A Hindu Vision of God*. London, 1980.

[24] See Fischer and Pathy. *Amorous Delight: The Amarushataka Palm-Leaf Manuscript Illustrated by the Master of Sharanakula (Orissa, India)*. Zurich, 2006, p. 21. This was the time when the Buguda temple murals were executed (ca. 1820), and it is assumed that many similar art activities took place in coastal Orissa during this period.

[25] In 1978, we have seen and photographed only five to six fragments of a larger chunk of wall painting, which have

unfortunately been spoiled and are under the cover of thick lime wash. These are thematically related to the *Ramayana*. The enshrined wooden images of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita are but the three dimensional replicas of the wall paintings.

[26]See Fischer, Eberhard, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, pl. 205 and 206; Das, J.P. *Puri Paintings*. New Delhi, 1982, pl. 12.

[27]In the village Karadagadia, near Khurdha, in the workshop of Bharata Mahapatra traditional wooden masks were produced. See Fischer, Mahapatra, Pathy, *Kunst und Kulture in Nordost Indien*, Zurich, PP 140-144, 1980.

[28]See Barret, Douglas and Basil Gray. *Painting of India*. Cleaveland, 1963, p. 73; and Das J.P. *Puri Paintings*. 1982, pp. 169-70.

[29]See Ibid. p. 74. The most remarkable of these paintings shows the reception of a Muslim Embassy by an Orissan king with an Abyssinian guard and two attendants, each seated in his palace before the five ambassadors. The latter are dressed in magnificent robes and extravagantly tied turbans. The general effect of this picture with its sumptuous colour, the super characterisation of the protagonists, especially of the arrogant, hook-nosed Muslims and the amplitude and bravura of the design, are unlike that of anything from contemporary India – D.P. Ghosh. The remarks of D.P. Ghosh should be read with Joanna Williams's observations in *Art and Connaisseurship, Essays in Honour of Douglas Barrett*, ed. John Guy, Ahmedabad, 1955, PP. 240-8 and *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. It is possible that the distinction between the white clad ruler and his ostentatious, haughty opponents indicate a confrontation between hero and demons. At any rate, it seems quite possible that the subject is mythological, from some Oriya poem such as the *Ushabhilasa* rather than an unprecedented record of a contemporary historical event.

[30]See Archer, Mildred. *Indian Popular Painting*. London, 1977, pp. 105-37; also Pathy, Dinanath. *Traditional Paintings of Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1990, pp. 54-5; and Pathy, Dinanath. "*Chitrakaras* of Orissa." In *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 1, October 1981: "*Jatripatis* were sold in the *Bedha-mahal* inside the Jagannatha temple premises at Puri and in the*Chakada mahal*, outside the main gate near the Aruna pillar" – About thirty years

ago, Dinanath Pathy but bought *jatripatis* in a make-shift shop on the Grand Road in Puri town.

[31]See fig. 5 in Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Mumbai, 2001, p. 109.

[32]See Das, J.P. *Puri Paintings*. New Delhi, 1982: *Suna Vesa, Vana-bhoji Vesa, Kaliyadalana Vesa, Pralambhasura-vadha Vesa,* Krishna-Balarama *Vesa,* Vamana *Vesa,* Raghunatha or *Raja Vesa, Nagarjuna Vesa, Padma Vesa* and *Gajoddharana Vesa*.

[33]See Ibid. *Gaja-rasa* or *Nari-kunjara, Asva-rasa, Nava-rasa, Rasa-mandala* or *Purna-rasa, Rasa Panchaka*.

[34]See Pathy, Dinanath. "Artist and Society: The Oriya Painter-Craftsman and His Social Setting." *Indian Art: Forms, Concerns and Development in Historical Perspective*. Ed. B.N. Goswamy. New Delhi, 2000, pp. 279-97; and Pathy, Dinanath."*Chitrakaras* of Orissa." In *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*. Vol. 1. 1981.

[35]For Emara Matha paintings, see Pathy, Dinanath. *Essence of Orissan Paintings*. New Delhi, 2001: Vaishnava preachers under *pidha* structured shrines with threefold arches are shown frontal in *padmasana* (pl. 85); compare these figures with *mahantas* painted on wooden boards in similar stately postures in Bada Odia *Matha* (pl. 84). Also compare these figures in Fischer, Eberhard , Sitakanta Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Orissa, Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, pl. 554 (Ramanuja in Lakshmi temple complex, Puri and pl. 555. Ramanuja in Emara Matha); Pathy, Dinanath. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1981, p. 38: Yajna-Nrisimha shown inside a *pidha* roofed decorative shrine with threefold arches, Nrisimha seated in *yajna patta* posture with a tiny Lakshmi on his left lap, is frontal and iconic. The shrine resembles a typical *jhulana kunja* of Puri town; Krishna in *tribhanga* standing under a *kadamva* tree attended by Radha and Lalita; the river Yamuna has been depicted as a closed water body with fishes and cranes. In the lower panel, a group of spirited devotees is ecstatically immersed in *kirtana* playing *mridanga* and *jhanja*. An inscription mentions the name of painter Mukunda Mahapatra and is dated to 1323 *shakabda* (See. 39 in Pathy. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*. Most probably *shakabda* mentioned in the inscription should be read as *sala* and the mural painting could be justifiably be placed in 1916 A.D.); *Yamalarjuna Bhanjana* is a three-tired painting. In the middle panel, the crouching child Krishna is seen tied to an Arjuna tree and he has set off two Gandharvas. On the

upper panel are *Shesashayi* Vishnu, killing of Kubalaya elephant, and eight wrestlers and Krishna floating in a banyan leaf on the milky ocean. In the lower panel is depicted a bullfight (p. 40). Portrait of Vasudeva Sarvabhauma who defeated Chaitanya in a debate on *Vaishnava* philosophy is most conspicuous. Sarvabhauma is a robust and hefty man in his forties, seated stately on *padmasana* reclining against a round large pillow under a *pidha* structured decorative shrine (p. 41).

[36]See Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Mumbai, 2001, pp. 105-30.

[37]Compare the pls. 1 and 2 of Pathy, Dinanath. *Essence of Orissan Paintings*. New Delhi, 2001 and pl. 5 of Das, J.P. *Puri Paintings*. New Delhi, 1982.

[38]See Pathy, Dinanath. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1981: Many scholars have included two paintings still available today into their chronology as samples for the period of their occurrence, i.e. the 12th to 16th centuries, these are the so-called paintings of *Buddha Vijaya* and *Kanchi Vijaya*...But what we see today is not the original painting...But the present painting of *Buddha Vijaya* has no value for a chronology and no early date can be ascribed to it. In the second case, a painting of *Kanchi Vijaya* simply does not exist in the *jagamohana* of the Jagannatha temple, Puri. Since long, an ugly varnish painted cement relief has taken the place of such a painted wall mural. A careful survey of the Jagannatha temple, Puri reveals the fact that as far as the mural paintings are concerned, there is not a single one which resembles the classical Orissan painting style. Judging even from the present day standard style, the paintings of the Jagannatha temple are of low quality.

[39]See Pathy, Dinanath. In *Samarasya*. Ed. Sadananda Das and Ernst Furlinger. New Delhi, 2005, pp. 325-35.

[40]See Fischer, Eberhard, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Orissa: Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, pls. 492-4; and In *Swiss Air Gazette*. 7/1985, cover photo.

[41]See Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Drawings for the Renewal of Murals – Notes on Documents for Murals of the Kalika Temple near Jayapur in Koraput District, Orissa (India)." In *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. LXII. 1. 2002; some murals of this temple are published in Fischer, Eberhard, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Orissa: Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, pls. 599-604; see also Pathy, Dinanath. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*.

Bhubaneswar, 1981; and Pathy, Dinanath. *Essence of Orissan Paintings*. New Delhi, 2001, pls. 5-24-6.

[42]For the painting of Srikalika temple in memory of Sri Kela Apalswamy, his son (S) donated the money for the repainting, which was completed in 28 August 1959.

[43]These Paralakhemandi plaques belong to the home shrine of late Satya Narayan Rajguru, a noted historian and epigraphist. See Fischer, Eberhard, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Orissa : Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, fig. 504: *Mahisamardini* and *Durgamadhava*, 19th century.

[44]Painted plaques from Digapahandi are Srimati Radha, Lalita, Champakalata, Balarama, Krishna, Gouranga, dancing Balarama. Fischer, Eberhard, Sitakant Mahapatra and Dinanath Pathy. *Orissa: Kunst und Kultur in Nordost Indien*. Zurich, 1980, figs. 497-503. For Khallikote painted wooden plaques, see pl. 75: Radha and Krishna in Asutosh Museum, Kolkata in Pathy, Dinanath. *Essence of Orissan Paintings*. New Delhi, 2001.

[45]Williams, Joanna. *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. Berkley, 1996.

[46]See Dinanath Pathy in *Unmana*, Cuttack, PP. 112-125, 1984

[47]The *Brajanatha Granthavali*, an eulogy on this literate-painter reveals much about him, He belonged to the Karana scribe's caste and was highly praised in his youth as a poet. He had travelled extensively, even visited Kolkata, and tried to find employment in different royal families in coastal Andhra Pradesh, but had to eke out his living in his old days in Puri as an illustrator of palm-leaf manuscripts. See Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Mumbai, 2001, p. 121. Also see Mishra P.K. *The Bhagavata Purana: An Illustrated Oriya Palm-leaf Manuscript*. Parts VIII-IX. Sambalpur and New Delhi, 1987.

[48]See Pathy, Dinanath. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1981, pl. 27.

[49]Ibid. Pl. 42.

[50]Pathy, Dinanath. "Mural Paintings at Kanchili and Sariapalli." In *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*. No. 4. December 1993, pp. 52-60 and figs. 1-22.

[51]Williams, Joanna. *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. Berkley, 1996, figs. 61-69-83.

[52]Ibid. Figs. 89-95.

[53]Ibid. Figs. 110-30.

[54]It is an ariel view of the fort town in schematic planning within a square space, a compound wall running around and crowned with battlements. The fort has four gateways (*simhadvaras*) guarded by lions at the entrance. The main entrance is provided with steps shown in profile. The fort town is segmented into nine square compartments. In the central compartment meant to be the palace, stands Ravana majestically commanding over his possession. For details see Pathy, Dinanath. In *Journal of the Orissa Research Society*. No. 4. December 1993, p. 54.

[55]Williams, Joanna. *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. Berkley, 1996, p. 55.

[56]For illustrations of comparative material, see Ray, E. "Documentation for Paithan Paintings"; and Stache-Rosen, V. "On the Shadow Theatre in India."

[57]See Rama and Sita, palm-leaf engraving by Shatrughna in the collection of Museum Rietberg, Zurich. For details refer Fischer, Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy. "Traditional Painting." In *Orissa Revisited*. Mumbai, 2001, p. 123.

[58]Stella Kramrisch (1940) discovered this splendid manuscript and carried out the initial analyse of the work. The illustrations of the hundred verses along with modern translations are reproduced in Sitakant Mahapatra (1984).

[59]The architecture in the 'Baripada *Amarushataka*' is bulky and heavy, as if made of stone and usually devoid of figurative ornaments on pillars. Landscapes are indicated by palms, shrubs and trees (often on pedestals), a field, a black expanse of water with fish, spiral or mushroom-like rocks inhabitated by monkeys, and wonderful arbours. Household interiors are indicated by parrots in cages, large beds on consoles, swing-beds hung from the ceiling, oil lamps on stands, triple arched entrances, high platforms with stone pavilions, and so on. Neither Moghul nor Sultanate influence can be detected anywhere (except possibly in the turban on the folio for *sloka* 88); even the crescent-shaped eaves typical of much of Bengali architecture in the region bordering Orissa do not appear in these illustrations. Overall these engravings exude a strong, traditional, 'mediaeval' Hindu culture that points more to the southern regions of Orissa than to Baripada, which adjoins Bengal. We would not be astonished if at some point evidence surfaced to prove that the 'Master of Baripada'

hailed not from northern Orissa but from one of the petty courts with an Oriya culture in what is now coastal Andhra Pradesh.

[60]See Fischer Eberhard and Dinanath Pathy, *Amorous Delight*, the Amarushataka Palm-leaf Manuscript illustrated by The Master of Sharanakula (Orissa, India), Zurich, 2006, P. 25

[61]Pathy, Dinanath. *Mural Paintings in Orissa*. Bhubaneswar, 1981. See pl. 22 where a seated Garuda is shown inside a semicircular arch decorated with banana leaves spreading to either side from the centre. This could be another version of the usual threefold arches, we see in such shrines housing goddesses, gods and related figures. This could be compared with the guardian figure standing Garuda in the Lakshminarayana Swamy temple at Sariapalli included in the Srikakulum workshop not for similarities but differences. Garuda sculptures with left leg raised and folded at the knees and right leg folded and placed parallel on the ground having two wings at his back are commonly fixed on high pedestals in *mukhasala*s of Vishnu temples, standing figures are unusual. Kosalesvara Garuda while confirming to a sculptural tradition, differs widely in its disposition, its two wings are like two scarfs resembling the Sariapalli figure. The nose, which is traditionally acqualian in Garuda sculptures is missing in Kosalesvara mural, as well as the *kirita*. The hands are no doubt folded but shown reverse with palms projected outside in Kosalesvara does not seem appropriate which on the Sariapalli figure is rightly suggested. The *trikachha* style of wearing over the usual dhoti is a typical *chitrakara* mannerism found in almost all major workshops. The lines in Kosalesvara mural are drawn rather in haste and our observation is supported by another unfinished mural in the same temple. (See pl. 89 in Pathy, Dinanath. *Essence of Orissan Paintings*. New Delhi, 2001.).

[62]The stylystic context of Sitavinji mural at the ceiling of a rock shelter called Ravanachhaya is often compared with the famous wall paintings of Ajanta, mainly taking the lady figure with the small skirt and the breast-band into consideration. One might keep in mind that the south Indian tradition specifically of the early Pandyas and Pallavas is in many formal details nearer to that of the Vakataka's in Ajanta. Whatever might have been the cultural situation, the Sitavinji's painting has stylistically nothing in common with the latter murals of Orissa.

[63]Kulke, Herman. "Kshyatriyaization and Social Change in Post-Mediaeval Orissa." *Changing Indian-Studies in Honour of Ghurye*. Mumbai, 1976.

[64]Mahapatra, K.N. *The Jagannatha Temples in Eastern India*. 1977 – 15th century – Ranpur; 16th Century – Birapratapapur, Tigiria, Baripada, Talcher, Sonepur; 18th century – Nayagarh, Digapahandi, Paralakhemandi, Buguda, Jaypur, Keonjhar; 19th century – Balasore, Khandapada, Bhavanipatna.

[65] See Das, J.P. *Puri Paintings*. New Delhi, 1982: Raghunath Harichandan of Athagada became a Raja in 1712 and being a devotee of Jagannatha constructed a temple in 1728. He requested his friend Raja Ramachandra Deva II of Puri to send a *chitrakara* for *seva* work and Chitrakara Raghunath Mahapatra was sent from Puri.

[66]Ibid. Pp-50-1.

[67]Mahapatra, K.N. *Khurdha Itihasa*. Oriya. 1969; Mishra, Vinayaka. Ed. *Jadumani Granthavali*. Oriya. 1965.

[68]Pathy, Soubhagya. *Aesthetics of Pictorial Language*. New Delhi, 2006. Pathy argues for a parallel development of art and language and justifies a common creative font that works as a source.

[69]Pathy, Soubhagya. "Stone Carving Workshops in Bhubaneswar". *Souvenir*, Orissa History Congress, 23 Session, 06-07 February 2000. p.11-16; *Orissa Review*, Vol. LVI No.6, January 2000. p.35-38.

[70]Halina Zealey, a Polish woman whose husband was head of a Quaker Village Project, settled in Puri. Her interaction for more than two years with the early painter Panu Maharana and with various authorities, who provided a market for the painters' work reversed the decline of the profession.

[71]Williams, Joanna. *The Two-Headed Deer: Illustrations of the Ramayana in Orissa*. Berkley, 1996. p.61. "We are reasonably certain the murals that survive go back to the 1820s, their condition deteriorating with time. Some labels appear to have been added later, for they do not fit into the rather careful design of the paintings. The original images have fortunately been spared the fate of repainting that often befalls living temples" and now people of Buguda complain that INTACH conservation has spoiled beautiful portions of paintings.

[72] See Ibid, "Paintings made for pilgrims resist chronological discussion, for they are extremely conservative."

Puri workshop, *Jatripati*, early 20th century, Collection: Museum Rietberg, Zurich
Painted by Krushna Maharana (?)
Photo: Eberhard Fischer



Sonepur workshop, *Raja,Ramayana Ganjapa*
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Dinanath Pathy is a practising painter, art historian and writer. He has done extensive field studies and published individually and in collaboration with Eberhard Fischer. He was curator of art and crafts in the Orissa State Museum, founder principal of B.K. College of Art and Crafts and secretary of the National Academy of Art. He was also a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow, British Council Fellow, Japan Foundation Fellow and Prof. A.L. Basham Memorial Awardee.



Lankagada, Wall Painting, Jagannatha *Matha*, Matham, Kanchili, Andhra Pradesh

Published by Prof. K.S. Behera Memorial Trust, A-1/76, Saheed Nagar, Bhubaneswar-751007, Orissa

Rs. 50 (Fifty Rupees only)